

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3591

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 7837

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: THE TRANSITION: VIEWS OF CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC

LEADER SILVA MUNOZ

REF : MADRID A-191 OF 9/27/75

SUMMARY: SILVA MUNOZ, THE CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (UDE) LEADER WHO IS MENTIONED AS A POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR TO ARIAS, STRESSED TO US NOV 6 THE INTERPLAY OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC FACTORS ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POST-FRANCO SPAIN. INTERNATIONALLY, HE JUDGED THE U.S. INFLUENCE PRIMARY, FOLLOWED BY THE EUROPEANS AND THE VATICAN. HE STRESSED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD MAKE IN SPAIN, AS THEY HAVE IN PORTUGAL, A MAJOR EFFORT. "IF HE WERE PRIME MINISTER" HIS DOMESTIC PROGRAM WOULD INCLUDE: (A) A MAJOR COMMUTATION OF PRISON SENTENCES AND AN END TO THE ANTI-TERRORIST LAW, (B) LEGALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES, EXCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS, (C) MAKING THE "CORTES" DIRECTLY ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, AND (D) DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE

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CHURCH. END SUMMARY

1. UDE LEADER SILVA MUNOZ, AND FORMER FINANCE MINISTER ALBERTO MONREAL LUQUE, LUNCHEDED WITH ME NOV 6. SILVA SAID THAT IN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SPAIN, THE SOVIETS WOULD MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT AT DIFFERENT LEVELS, THROUGH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE), THROUGH COMMUNIST PENETRATION IN THE MEDIA, AND THROUGH WHAT HE BELIEVES - ALONG WITH MANY OTHER CONSERVATIVES HERE - TO BE CLANDESTINE SOVIET BACKING FOR THE FRAP TERRORISTS. AS HE SAW IT, THE COUNTERPOISE LAY IN THE ROLES THE U.S., THE WESTERN EUROPEANS, AND THE VATICAN WOULD PLAY. THE U.S. WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR. HE CONFESSED TO HIS OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC RECOGNITION FOR HIS CONSERVATIVE, REGIME-LINKED GROUP. SILVA LAID CONSIDERABLE STRESS, HOWEVER, ON HIS CONTACTS WITH THE CDU/CSU AND STRAUSS IN PARTICULAR. THE LATTER HAD SUGGESTED THAT PRC MIGHT BE USED IN SPAIN TO COUNTER SOVIETS. HE SAW THE VATICAN AND THE SPANISH EPISCOPATE AS HAVING A POSITIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN AN EVOLUTIONARY TRANSITION.

2. SILVA SAID THE KIND OF PROGRAM THAT THE PRINCE ADOPTED WOULD DEPEND ON THE PERSONALITY AND OUTLOOK OF THE PRIME MINISTER. "IF I WERE PRIME MINISTER" HE SAID HE WOULD DO THE FOLLOWING:

-- HAVE AN "INDULTO" - A COMMUTATION OF SENTENCES - FOR ABOUT 7,000 PRISONERS, INCLUDING BOTH POLITICAL AND THOSE CONVICTED OF LESSER COMMON CRIMES. (THERE ARE ABOUT 15,000 PRISONERS IN SPANISH JAILS.) HE STATED THAT GOVT HAD PREPARED A DRAFT DECREE TO BE RELEASED AFTER PRINCE'S INSTALLATION. IN ADDITION, THE ANTI-TERRORIST LAW MUST BE RESCINDED, AND THESE MATTERS RETURNED TO THE CIVIL COURTS. SILVA SAID A DRAFT DECREE TO RESCIND THE ANTI-TERRORIST LAW HAD ALSO BEEN DRAWN UP.

-- CONVERT POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SYSTEM INTO A POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM. KEY LAY IN TAKING THE SUPERVISION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY OUT FROM UNDER THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT - WHICH WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE OPPOSITION - AND PLACING IT EITHER UNDER THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR, AS IN THE 1964 LAW OF ASSOCIATIONS, OR - AND THIS WAS HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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PREFERENCE - UNDER A SMALL GROUP OF RESPECTED ELDER POLITICIANS DULY CONSTITUTED BY LEGISLATION. THE "ILLEGAL" CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND SOCIALISTS WOULD BE WELCOME - BUT THERE WOULD AND COULD BE NO PLACE FOR THE COMMUNISTS. -- ADOPT A LAW MAKING THE "CORTES" ELECTED DIRECTLY BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. IF THIS WERE NOT POSSIBLE INITIALLY, MAKE THE MARCH ELECTION FOR THE "CORTES ELECT AT LEAST ONE-HALF OF ITS MEMBERS BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. USE THE NATIONAL COUNCIL SET UP OF

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT AS AN UPPER HOUSE THAT WOULD RETAIN THE CORPORATE FLAVOR (SO DESIRED BY FALANGISTS) BUT WITH LITTLE REAL POWER.

-- DISESTABLISH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHICH THE CHURCH HIERARCHY ALSO WANTED. THIS WOULD REQUIRE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT, AND WOULD PROVOKE CONSIDERABLE REACTION FROM SOME RIGHT WING POLITICAL CIRCLES MORE PAPIST THAN THE POPE. BUT HERE A PUBLIC WORD FROM THE VATICAN AND TH CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE AT THE RIGHT TIME WOULD MAKE A GREAT DIFFERENCE. THE INSERTION IN THE CONSTITUTION OF LANGUAGE DEVISED IN THE 30'S BY JOSE ANTONIO PRIMO DE RIVERA (THE FOUNDER OF THE FALANGE) TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH,EVEN THOUGH IT IS DISESTABLISHED,WOULD HELP CUT THE GROUND OUT FROM UNDER THE RIGHT.

3. ON GROUNDS OF BOTH PRINCIPLE AND PRAGMATISM, THERE WAS NO SENSE IN MAKING THE PCE LEGAL, ALTHOUGH THIS POSED DIFFICULTIES WITH THE LEFT WIND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (WHO SOUGHT A FOOLISH "HISTORIC COMPROMISE") AND THE SOCIALISTS. LEGALIZATION OF THE PCE WOULD DESTABLIZE THE WHOLE POLITICAL PROCESS. BUT HE THOUGHT THE SOCIALISTS WOULD BE BOUGHT OFF BY DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

4. HE DESCRIBED THE CONFUSED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC SITUATION. UDE HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE ILLEGAL GROUPS, THE LEFT WING IDC OF RUIZ GIMENEZ, ALTHOUGH THEY DISAGREED VIOLENTLY ON THE ISSUE OF COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION. HE DISPARAGED GIL ROBLES' GROUP AS NOT MUCH MORE THAN A FAMILY CLIQUE, ALTHOUGH THEY MERITED SOME RESPECT ON GROUNDS OF GIL ROBLES' HISTORICAL FIGURE. IN THE LONG RUN,HE EXEPECTED MOST OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS - MINUS THE CATALONIAN AND BASQUE CONTINGENTS WHO

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INSTED ON AN IMPOSSIBLE FEDERALISM - COULD GET TOGETHER.

5. MONREAL LUQUE, THE PARTY'S EXPERT ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, DESCRIBED BRIEFLY ECONOMIC TASKS NECESSARY TO COMPLEMENT A POLITICAL OPENING, PARTICULARLY A PUMP PRIMING THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. FISCAL AND TAX REFORM WERE ALSO IMPERATIVE NECESSITIES.

6. SILVA MUNOZ IS TRYING TO FIND THAT ELUSIVE MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN THE "GO SLOWS" ASSOCIATED WITH THE REGIME AND THE "DO IT ALL AT ONCE" VIEWS OF THE OPPOSITION. I FOUND SILVA MUNOZ AWARE AND APPRECIATIVE OF OUR ATTITUDE IN SUPPORT OF EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE TO A PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SYSTEM.

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